

**T**Here is nothing hereby intended to impugn the *Abrogation of the TEST*: May His Majesty's Sacred Will and Pleasure be fulfill'd; and may the Rights of the *English Peerage* remain Inviolable. But there seems to have been an absolute Necellity, for the *AUTHOR of the Reasons for Abrogating the TEST*, to have Repeal'd his most bitter Invectives against the *Nonconformists*, and his tempestuous Indignation against *Dissenters* in general; so diametrically opposite to the Serene and Pious Desires and Resolutions of His Majesty, to make His Subjects happy, and unite them to Him, as well by Inclination, as Duty; and to have shew'd his Compliance to His Majesty in all His most Laudable and Generous Designs, before he had singl'd out that particular Point of the *TEST*, merely to hook in a Plea for *Transubstantiation*, and his own New modell'd Notions of *Idolatry*. But let Others, whom it may concern, dispute those *Controversies*: The present Question is, Whether his Lordship of *Oxon*, have retracted his Discourses of *Ecclesiastical Polity*; or at least, those Passages in them, which run so apparently counter to his Majesty's *Gracious Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*? Otherwise he may seem to have calculated his *Writings* for the various *Meridians of State*; and his *Arguments* will not bear that Weight, which (tho the same, yet) coming from Another Person, they would have done.

**N**OW, there cannot be a more certain *Touchstone* of Truth of the *Bishop's*, or *Arch-Deacon's* (which you please, for they are both the same Person's) *Ecclesiastical Polity*; than the *Declaration* itself: Only, out of his Christian Charity, the *Arch-Deacon* has Peopled the *Kingdom* with such a dreadful *Canaille*, (all but those of the *Church of England*) that Astonishment it self might wonder well, were his unconscionable *Epiethets* to be allow'd, that so Gracious, so Indulgent, so Soft and Calm a *Declaration*, should come forth in Kindness to such a Rabble: For Those whom his Majesty calls His *Good Subjects*, the *Arch-Deacon* continually stigmatizes with the foul *Epiethets* of *Jugglers*, *Dissemblers*, *Wicked*, *Rebellious*, *Hypocrites*, *Sons of Strife and Singularity*, and most notorious *Hereticks*. And, upon this Supposition, as the Foundation of his *Pile*, that the Generality of the People of *England* are such, (for he excepts none but those of the *Church of England*) he rears the Fabric of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*; wherein he had only this Misfortune;

*Ecclesiast. Polit.*  
pag. 241; 242;  
273, 319; 187.

to be of a quite contrary Opinion to his Prince ; and that his *Draconicks* were not Repeal'd, before the Declaration came forth.

The Declaration expresses His Majesty's Earnest Desire to Establish His Government on such a Foundation, as to make his Subjects happy, and unite Them to Him as well by Inclination as Duty ; which He thinks can be done by no means so effectual, as by granting Them the Free Exercise of their Religion.

But the Arch-Deacon's Politicks are of another Strain : For, in his Preface to his Ecclesiastical Polity, p. 12. he says ; That the Aim of his Discourse is, by representing the palpable Inconsistency of Phanatick Tempers and Principles, with the Welfare and Security of Government, to awaken Authority to beware of its worst, and most dangerous Enemies, and force them to Modesty and Obedience by Severity of Laws.

Pag. 52. of the same Preface : If Princes (says he) would but consider, how liable Mankind are to abuse themselves with serious and conscientious Villanies, they would quickly see it to be absolutely necessary to the Peace and Happiness of their Kingdoms, that there be set up a more severe Government over Men's Consciences, than over their Vices and Immoralities.

Pag. 54. of the same, He boasts his having prov'd, That Indulgence and Toleration is the most Absolute sort of Anarchy ; and that Princes may with less Hazard give Liberty to Men's Vices and Debaucheries, than to their Consciences.

But the Declaration is quite of another Temper : We humbly thank Almighty God, it is, and hath of a long Time been, Our constant Sense and Opinion, which upon divers Occasions We have declared, That Conscience ought not to be constrain'd, nor People forc'd in Matters of meer Religion.

But this will not be admitted by the Arch-Deacon : For, (says he, Ecclesiast. Pol. pag. 321.) When Men's Consciences are so squeamish, that they will rise against the Customs and Injunctions of the Church, She must scourge them into Order, and chastize them for their troublesome Peccatisiveness.

Pag. 324. (Eccles. Polit.) He pretends to have prov'd the Unavoidable danger of Toleration, and keeping Religious Differences ; That Religion must be govern'd by the same Rules, as all other Transactions of Human Life ; and, That nothing can do it, but severe Laws ; nor they neither, unless severely Executed.

Ecclesiast. Pol. pag. 311. If Princes (says he) will suffer themselves to be check'd in their Laws Spiritual by every Systematical Theologues, they may as well bear to see themselves affirm'd in their Laws Civil by every Village-Attorney.

Pag. 284. *But to Indulge Ideots in their Folly, because they threaten Authority to be Peevish and Scrupulous, and to Infect the Government with a sullen, and cross-grain'd Godliness, (an Artifice not much unlike the Tricks of sroward Children) is, to suffer Ignorance to ride in Triumph; and therefore such Humorsom Saints must be lash'd out of their Sullenness, into Compliance, and better Manners.* This (as the Arch-Deacon calls it, *Preface to Bramhal's Vindication*) was one of his *Rhapsodies of hasty and huddled Thoughts.* Most Divine Words, and most Seraphick Charity! But the Arch-Deacon will have *Tenderness of Conscience* to be *Pride, Vanity, and Insolence*, though all the *Seven Champions* should Contradict him.

Pag. 273. *He that pretends Conscience to vouch his Humor, and his Insolence, is a Villain, and an Hypocrite; and so far from deserving Pity, especially from Authority, that no Offenders can more need or provoke their Severity.* This may be True: But, where the Supream Government, which must of necessity be Absolute, Uncontroulable, and Unlimited, as well in matters of Religion, &c. more Sagaciously discerns beyond the Arch-Deacon's, that same *Conscience* to be neither *Humors* nor *Insolence*, nor will comprehend it under that Notion; there, it is to be hoped, the Man is not a *Villain*, nor an *Hypocrite*, and so not liable to the Fury of Correction.

Pag. 271. *And therefore, if Princes will be Resolute, they may easily make the most Stubborn Consciences bend to their Commands; But, if they will not, they must submit Themselves, and their Power, to all the Follies and Passions of their Subjects.* Probatum est. S. P.

Pag. 270. *Governours must look to the Publick, and let Tender Consciences look to Themselves. Laws must be of an unyielding, and unflexible Temper, and not soft and easie Things. Princes must not be dissident in their Maxims of Policy; but, as they must set up some to Themselves; so they must All roundly up to them. Dii te donent Tonfore.—Quere, Why this Counsel was not taken, since the Counsel was given so long before the Declaration came forth? Ans. Because it was ever contrary to His Majesty's Inclination.* Declar. P. 2.

Pag. 269. *'Tis all one to the Concernments of Government, whether Tenderness of Conscience be Serious or Counterfeit: For whether so or so, 'tis directly contrary to the Ends and Interests of Government. Better unsaid, than not Believed.*

Pag. 263. *And what can be more destructive to all manner of Government, than to make all the Rules of Order and Discipline less Sacred, than the Whimsies of every Phannatick Zealot? Pray be patient, Sir, there's no such thing done.*

*Ibid.* When to pick Quarrels with the Laves, and make Scruple of Obeying them, shall be made the Specifick Character of the Godly: When giddy and humorous Zeal shall not only excuse, but bellow Disobedience; when every one that has Fancy enough to fancy himself a Child of God, shall have License to despise Authority. Who would have been at the trouble of all this Rhetorick, had he known what would have followed?

Page. 253. In brief, The only Cause of all our Troubles and Disturbances, is, the Inflexible Perverseness of about an hundred Proud, Ignorant, and Seditious Preachers; against whom, if the Severity of the Laws were particularly levelld, how easie would it be to reduce the People to a Peaceable Temper? There were just Three more than his Number, and that spoild the Project.

Page. 187. What can be more apparently vain, than to talk of Accommodations, or to hope for any Possibility of Quiet or Settlement, till Authority shall see it necessary to scourge them into better Manners, and wiser Opinions?

Page. 219. 'Tis easily possible for well-meaning People, through Ignorance or Inadvertency, to be betray'd into such unhappy Errors, as may tend to the Publick Disturbance; which, though it be not so much their Crime, as Infelicity; yet is there no Remedy, but it must expose them to the Correction of the Publick Rods and Axes. Surely, Rhadamantus's own Chaplain could not have preached more severe Divinity?

Page. 271. In brief, There is nothing so ungovernable, as a Tender Conscience; or so restif and inflexible, as Folly or Wickedness, when hardned with Religion: And therefore, instead of being Compl'y'd with, they must be Restrain'd with a more peremptory and unyielding Rigor, than naked and unsanctify'd Villany.

Page. 223. Nay, so easy it is for Men to deserve to be Punish'd for their Consciences, that there is no Nation in the World (were Government rightly understood, and duly manag'd) wherein Mistakes and Abuses in Religion, would not supply the Gallies with vastly greater Numbers, than Villany. 'Tis a Comfort, Curst Cows have now short Horns.

However, to this the Tender Declaration makes a Reply, declaring one of the Reasons of his Majesty's Indulgence to be, Because He finds, That Force in Matters of meer Religion, tends to the Depopulating of Countries.

On the other side, the Arch-Deacon, in Opposition to the KING's Reason, is for Depopulating the Land, and Peopling the Gallies; and arraigns that Government for want of Understanding, and due Management, that does not observe his Method of Cruelty. He is for Pillories,

*Pillories, Whipping-Post, Rods, Axes, Scourges, &c.* as if no Government pleas'd him, but that described by *Vergil* in Hell :

*Hinc exaudiri gemitus, & seua sonare  
Verbera ; tum stridor Ferri, trallaque catena.*

*Accincta flagella  
Tisiphone quatit insultans, torvosque sinistra  
Intentans Angues vocat Agmina seua sororum.*

This, in the *Arch-Deacon's Ecclesiastical Policy* ; and to shew, that no other Government will content him but this, *Pag. 18. I leave it, (says he)* to Governors themselves to judge, whether it does not concern them, with as much Vigilance and Severity, either to prevent the Rise, or suppress the Growth, (of *Phanaticks* he means, that find themselves aggrieved by the Penal Laws) as to punish any the foulest Crimes of Immorality ? And if they would but seriously consider into what Exorbitances peevish and untoward Principles about Religion improve themselves, they could not but perceive so be as much their Concernment to punish them with the severest Inflictions, as any whatsoever Principles and Rebellions in the State. — Well ! The Business is consider'd, and his *Ecclesiastical Policy* is found to be Deficient.

Nay, he goes farther, and arraigns all *Kings* and *Princes* for their Polly, under the Title of Governors : For, says he, in the following *Pag. 19.* This certainly has ever been one of the Fatal Miscarriages of all Governors, in that they have not been aware of this Fierce and Implacable Enemy, (meaning the *Phanaticks*, who care no more for *Whips* and *Scourges*, than the Devil does for *Holy-Water*) but have gone about to govern unruly Consciences by more easy and remiss Laws, than those that are only able to suppress scandalous and confess'd Villanies ; and have thought them sufficiently Restrain'd, by threatening Punishments, without inflicting them. And indeed, in most Kingdoms, so little have Princes understood their own Interests in Matters of Religion, &c. Hearken, O ye Princes of Europe, and go to School again to the Author of the *Discourses of Ecclesiastical Policy* !

But, here is another bold touch : Prohibition disobliger Dissenters, and that is one Evil ; Impunity allows them Toleration, but that is a Greater ; and here Governors permit what their Laws permit, (This is not the present Case) there the Common-wealth must at once feel all the Evils both of Restraint and Liberty. So that, as they would expect Peace and Settlement, they must be sure, at first, to bind on their Ecclesiastical Laws with the tightest Knot ; and afterwards keep them in Force



Force and Countenance, by the Severity of the Law. Their Restraint must be proportion'd to the Unruliness of their Conscience: and they must be manag'd with so much the greater Strictness, than all other Principles of Disturbance, by how much they are the more dangerous. *Gratias Domine!* now Princes understand what they have to do.

Yet a little more of the Arch-Deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity. Beloved, in his Preface to Bishop Bramhal's Vindication (for it is not Pag'd) you shall find it thus written: They (meaning the Phanatics, or Complainers against the Penal Statutes) have been so long accusom'd to undutiful Demeanor, that it is to be fear'd, they are grown too Headstrong and In-corrigible, to be aw'd into a more modest Behaviour by Threatnings of Severity. Therefore, it will be thought necessary to bridle their ungovern'd Tongues and Spirits with Pillories and Whipping-Posts.

And at the Bottom of the same Page: To this Peevishness of their Humors, I might add the Restlessness of their Minds, that is always displeas'd with the settled Frame of Things, (innuendo, the settled Penal Laws;) and that no Alterations can satisfy. If you condescend to their first Demands, you only encourage them to be making New Remonstrances: Appease all their Old Complaints, and they are immediately picking New Faults to be Redress'd. They that at first only request Indulgence, will, when strong enough, demand it. In short, Give the Nonconformists an Inch, and they'll take an Ell.

But, (in the same Preface) should it ever so happen hereafter, that any King of England should be prevail'd with to deliver up the Church, (That is to say, to dispence with the Penal Laws and T E S T; for the T E S T, notwithstanding the Reasons against it, must be included in this long Parenthesis, because the Church fram'd it) he had as good, at the same Time, resign up his Crown. And thus you see the Danger of the Present Government, through the Non-conformity to the Arch-Deacon's Ecclesiastical Polity.

There is another Reason, why His Majesty was graciously pleas'd to Think, Force in Matters of meer Religion directly contrary to the Interest of Government; and that is, Spoyling of T R A D E.

Trade! cries the Arch-Deacon: Trade! No. Let Grabs grow about the Custom-House, rather than abate one Tittle of my Ecclesiastical Polity: For, (in his Preface to his Ecclesiast. Pol. Pag. 49.) 'Tis notorious, (says he) that there is not any sort of People so inclinable to Seditious Practices, as the Trading Part of a Nation; and their Pride and Arrogance naturally increases with the Improvement of their Stock. And if we reflect upon our late miserable Distractions,

is easy to observe, how the Quarrel was hatcht in Trade-Mens Shops, and cherisht by the Zeal of Prentices: (By the way this is plausible Nonfense all over.) But he goes on, Pag. 50. 'Tis a very odd and preposterous Piece of Policy, to design the enriching this sort of People, while their Heads are distemper'd with Religious Lunacies. And, Pag. 51. He is a very silly Man, and understands nothing of the Follies, Passions and Inclinations of Human Nature, who sees not there is no Creature so ungovernable, as a Wealthy Phana-tick. And therefore, (Pag. 48.) I confess, I cannot but smile, when I observe how some, that would be thought wonderful grave and solemn Statesmen, labour with mighty Projects of setting up this and that Manufacture, in their several respective Towns and Corporations; and how eagerly they pursue these Petty Attempts, beyond the Great Affairs of a more Publick Concernment, (Meaning the dreadful and terrible Execution of the Penal Laws;) and how wisely they neglect the Settlement of a whole Nation, for the Benefit of a Village or Burrough? Very pleasant Ecclesiastical Polity! No Man must eat or drink, or maintain his Family: The grand Relation of Human Necessities, depending one upon another, must stand still, to oblige the Arch-Deacon's Ecclesiastical Policy. Here's a *Quietus* est for above the Third Part of the Nation. None but those that can swallow a Surplice, and adore the Parochial Levite, must weave Camlets at Norwich, make Bays at Colchester, Spurs at Rippen, Nails at Brommige-ham, or Saddles at Burford. For why? There is not any sort of People so Seditious, as the Trading Part of the Nation. So that, supposing the greater Part of the Trading Part of the Nation be, as the Arch-Deacon calls them, Phana-ticks, and Nonconformists, (that is, Men conscientiously scrupuling the Ceremonies of the Church of England) they must either be Scourg'd into better Manners with Bryars and Thorns; or else the Nation must be laid waste and desolate. For, to tell you true, as good have no People, as those that will not pay Tithes; 'tis no matter for the KING's Duties, nor how the Nation may be otherwise weaken'd and expos'd.

There is yet behind one more Reason urg'd in the Declaration, and that is this; That force in matters of meer Religion, never obtain'd the end for which it was imploy'd; wherein His Majesty declares Himself the more confirm'd, by the Reflections he had made upon the Conduct of the four last Reigns.

Now, here's the utter Subversion of the Arch-Deacon's Ecclesiastical Policy, All meer Labour in vain; abundance of Ranting,

Raving, Reviling Expressions; insomuch, that the *Arch-Angel* was more civil to the *Devil*, than the *Arch-Deacon* to the *Dissenters*; and yet all to no purpose. He has been at a great deal of pains in setting up *Pillories* and *Whipping-Posts* in all Parts and Corners of the Kingdom; and now he may e'ne go, and pull 'em down again. What are now become of all his Politick *Let but's*? In his Preface to Bishop *Bramhall's* Vindication; *Let but the Government think it seasonable at any time to Reprieve them* (meaning the *Dissenters*) *from the severity of the Laws, and they immediately start up into that Confidence, as to imagine themselves the only Darlings of State. Let but the Publick Rods be removed from their Backs, and they are presently full of Expectations to have them put into their own hands. If they are not always Scourg'd and Chastis'd, they will grow Sawcy, and must by all means become Cronies to Kings and Princes.*

Many other Passages might have been Collected out of his several Bitter (if they may not be said to be Scurrilous) Invectives against the *Dissenters*; but here are sufficient to make it apparently Manifest, that the *Author* of the *Ecclesiastical Polity*, was as great a *Dissenter* from the mild and tender Maxims of his Majesty's Government, and his constant Sense and Opinion, of a long time professed and declared upon several Occasions in Matters of Religion, as the *Dissenters* were dissatisfied with the Rigid Severity of the Church of England; or, at least, with the Principles of his *Ecclesiastical Polity*.

Which makes it seem questionable, whether a Person, who has brandish'd his Pen with that Virulency against the *Dissenters* in general, and His Majesties Royal Opinion, and the Mature Results of his most serious Deliberations, may be a proper Champion against the *Test*? For most certainly, there has been much more said already, and much more to the purpose, than he has produced.

Preface to  
Bishop  
Bramhall's  
Vindicat.  
On the other side, he has most Dogmatically avouch'd, *That if ever the Boisterous and unreasonable Opposition* (as he calls it) *of the Nonconformists to the Church of England, be Re-erected, it must be upon its Ruins: And that if ever the Roman Catholicks get any Ground, or Advantage of the Church of England, they will be bound to make their acknowledgments to the Puritans, and the strength of their Assistance.* Whence he draws his Conclusion, *That it would be a pleasant Spectacle, (that is to say, A ridiculous oversight in Government) to see either the Classical or Congregational Discipline establish'd by Authority.*

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Moreover, in the 721. *Pag.* of the *Vindication* of his *Ecclesiastical*. He appeals to all Men, whether *Liberty of Conscience* be any better, than a License for *Anarchy* and *Confusion*? *Pag.* 238. He says, *That to grant Subjects a lawless and uncontroll'd Liberty of Conscience, in all Matters and Pretences of Religion, is to dissolve one half of the Government into perfect Anarchy, and yield up the Constitution of all Publick Affairs, to the Humor of every wild Enthusiast.* And *Pag.* 553. you find it thus written; *So that seeing an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction (of Pillories and Whipping Posts, Thorns and Bryars) is absolutely necessary to prevent all Confusions arising from unrestrain'd Liberty, it is better that Mankind should be sometimes expos'd to the Miseries of Tyranny and Persecution, than always Groan under the Intolerable Disorders of Anarchy, or Reluctancy to Penal Statutes.*

If then the Church of *England* be Establish'd upon such a firm Foundation, that nothing can endanger it, but Indulgence to the Dissenters, 'tis to be admir'd, that a Man, so knowing in *Ecclesiastical Policy*, and so great a Friend to the Church of *England*, would open such a Gap as to plead for the *Abrogation* of the *Test*, which the Church-Men of *England* fram'd and set up, as the only *Bulwark* to prevent her Dissolution. So that, to use his own Words, *'Tis very hardly Credible, That a Person, who has lately appear'd so vigorously in her Cause, should, notwithstanding all his seeming Zeal and Earnestness, be really in good earnest, in his Pretences, against the Test.* For, what signifies the *Abrogating* the *Test*, if there be no way to shake the otherwise immovable Church of *England*, but by making two Bridges of Dissenters, one between *Callice* and *Dover*, the other between *Diepe* and *Rye*, for *Poper* to return into *England*: For, when he comes to that part of his *Preface* to *Bishop Bramhall's Vindication*, where he considers what likelihood, or how much danger there is of the return of *Poper* into this Nation: *For my own part, says he, I know none, but the Non-conformist's boisterous and unreasonable Opposition to the Church of England.* If he think, that the *Abrogation* of the *Test* may be a means to unite the *Papist*, and the *Dissenter*, which he seems to intimate, by saying, *That the Faction of the Dissenters may be made use of, as Instruments (Journey-men Tools) to dissolve and unravel the establish'd Frame of things, and destroy the Church of England; and so make an unobstructed Passage for the return of Popery in Glory and Triumph;* then he has left his Cause in the Lurch, and relinquish'd all his *Ecclesiastical Policy* at once.

As for the *Papists*, he deals with them after such a rate, that no Man living knows where to have him. In his *Preface* to Bishop *Bramhall's Vindication*, he seems neither to Love or Fear 'em: For that, as long as the Church of England stands in Power and Reputation, it will easily beat back and baffle all the Attempts of Rome, and its Adherents; Their plausible Reasons being evidently no more than little Tricks and Sophisms, and seem intended by themselves, rather to abuse the Simple, than satisfy the Wise. Their Innovations are so undeniable, and the Design of the Church of England's Reformation, so apparently Apostolical, that those People must needs argue at a strange and wild rate, that will be demonstrating against Experience, and Ocular Inspection. So then, the Reformation made by the Church of England, in the Points of *Transubstantiation*, *Worship of Images*, *Adoration of the Host*, and *Invocation of Saints*, being Apostolical; What must be thought of his Reasons against the Test? Nay, there is Nothing could preserve the *Papists* from being his'd out of the Pit, but that they are extremely Confident, and most Readers sufficiently Ignorant: So that the Church of England may safely defy all their Opposition. She does not stand upon such Trembling Foundations, as to be thrust down with Bull-rush Spears, and Oral Traditions, with Labyrinths, and Castles in the Air.

But then his Heart misgives him again, and he begins to fear the Return of Popery into the Nation, should the Nonconformists joyn with the *Papists*: And therefore, at the end of his *Preface*, he begs the hearty Prayers of his Friend, for the Peace and Prosperity of the Church of England; for when That is gone, (farewel Frost) 'twill be hard to find out another, with which any, that are either Honest or Wise, will be over forward to joyn in Communion.

Notwithstanding all this, upon better Consideration, as it were in compassion of the despis'd weakness of the Church of Rome, and her Adherents, he undertakes to furnish them with better Arguments of his own, than any they have themselves, to vindicate *Transubstantiation*, and clear them from *Idolatry*: For which he strains an Argument deduc'd from the *Cherubims*, that cover'd the *Ark*. And yet, in his Defence of his Ecclesiastical Polity, Pag. 285, 286. he condemns both *Turk* and *Pope* together in a Breath; the one for giving Divine Worship to a lewd Impostor; the other, to a Senseless piece of Matter. And thus, what, by Virtue of Apparent, Apostolical Reformation, he call'd (before) a Senseless piece of Matter, he has (now) cover'd with the *Cherubim's Golden Wings*, and render'd Adorable by Scripture-Warrant: But, *Bene scribit, qui bene intelligitur*; what he has Written, he has Written.

FINIS.

